

NEPAL'S FOREIGN POLICY: Concept, Determinants, Goals & Objectives (A Petite General Vista)

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Abstract: The policy, which is related to the international arena, is called foreign policy. The foreign policy is a vital subject for a country because the increasing demands of the country can't be fulfilled by itself. Every state has its duty to loss and gain more for these states adopt different policies for their benefit. Foreign policy is somewhat wider than domestic policy, however they have close intimacy. Foreign policy as a part of national policy encompasses the behavior of policy taken by a country with regard to other countries as well as multilateral organizations. By observing the foreign policy one can get picture of relationship of a country with others. Foreign policy of every country has the objectives and goals based on the national interest. Foreign policy is the wheel of a sovereign nation-state for conducting its relations with other state or states. Foreign policy of individual state is the basis for its international relations as well as the over-all international system. In this ground reality of Nepalese position in the world community, it is interesting matter that how does Nepal adopt the foreign policy. The piece of writing will discuss the General concept, goal, objectives and determinates of Nepal's foreign policy by following analytical node in qualitative research method milieu.

Keywords: Nepal, Foreign Policy, Formation, Determinants, Objectives

I- Prologue

All states have some kinds of relations among themselves whatever the distance they have. Their governments have to choose a certain course of action and refrains from others. Every government has to behave in a particular manner in relation to government of other states. The study of this behavior is, broadly speaking, the content of foreign policy. The behavior of every state affects the behavior of other states in some extent, either favorably or adversely. But every state tries to maximize the

favorable effects of the actions of other states [1]. Foreign policy is a vast and vague discipline. Several scholars and writers have tried to define and describe foreign policy from various angles. Even though their views and definitions vary, they share a common view that foreign policy is meant primarily for the preservation and promotion of national interest of a state. According to Stevenson (1954) describes, “No administration can conduct a sound foreign policy, when the future sits in judgement on the past and officials are held accountable as dupes, fools or traitors for anything that goes wrong”. The illustrates that “effectiveness in foreign policy comes, when power is harnessed to a strategic framework and translated into action by creative diplomacy” [1]. According to Jayapalan also describes foreign policy by saying “reduced to its most fundamental ingredients, foreign policy consists of two elements; national objectives to be achieved and means for achieving them. The interaction between national goals and the resources for attaining them is the perennial subject of statecraft, in its ingredients, the foreign policy of all nations, great or small, is the same [17].” Coulombis and Wolfe (1990) define foreign policies as “syntheses of the ends (national interests) and means (power and capabilities) of nation-states” [12]. Brewster (as cited in Ancheson,1985) defines foreign policy as “the whole of national policy looked at from the point of view of the exigencies created by the vast external realm beyond our borders. It is not a jurisdiction; it is an orientation, a point of view of a measurement of values-today perhaps, the most important one for national survival” [7]. Dean Rusk (1955) states, “success in the conduct of our foreign affairs is to be measured not in tally sheets, but by issues satisfactorily resolved, friendship consolidated, rivalries reduced or circumscribed” .According to Feliks Gross (1954), foreign policy is “the study of actions, interaction and reactions between states and states organizations.”Howard et al.,(as cited in Northedge,1972) describes foreign policy as “a necessary part of the modern state”.He is of the view that “a foreign policy, is perhaps most likely to succeed if it is moving with the tide of affairs and weaving itself into the positive volition of other states rather than pitting itself against their resistance”.Polley (as cited in Kennan,1990, p.104) is of the view that “a political society does not live to conduct foreign policy, ... it conducts foreign policy in order to live. He further adds: The methodology of foreign policy... is that we must be gardeners and not mechanics in our approach to world affairs. We must come to think of the development of international life as an organic and not a mechanical process. We must realize that we did not create the forces by which this process operates” [13]. Kegley (as cited in Modelski, p.55) defines foreign policy as “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment.”Morgenthau (1948) has defined foreign policy as the “survival of a political unit.... in its identity as the irreducible minimum of a state’s interest *vis-à-vis* other units, encompassing in this, the integrity of a state’s territory, its political institutions, and its culture”.Pradhan (as cited in Hartman,1996) describes foreign policy as a “systematic statement of deliberately selected national interests” [9]. In a similar view, Kissinger (1982) has stated that “most foreign policies that history has marked highly, in whatever country, have been originated by leaders, who were opposed by experts.”Kissinger has further added that “the acid test of a policy is its ability to obtain domestic support. This has two aspects: the problem of legitimizing a policy within the government apparatus... and that of harmonizing it with the national experience.Qian (as cited in Gibson,1999, p.3) defines foreign policy as “a well sounded comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world [2]. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation.”Thomson (as cited in Watson, 1962) is of the view that “secret diplomacy, propaganda by mass media ... (or) international conference, espionage, subversion, economic aid, the granting or with holding of foreign trade, guerilla war, the threat of war, war with conventional forces and war with atomic weapons are all potential instruments of policy, to be used in accordance with the need of

moment, the chances and the cost of success” [7]. Bindra (as cited in Rosenau,1988, p. 63) opines in the following words: At the foreign policy level, too, the forces of the past and then of the present can conflict, co-exist or synthesize. The choices and activities of foreign policy decision makers can be guided by the cultural norms and historical precedents or the choices and activities can be guided by the changing demands that emanates from the international system or from the decision-makers of society [6]. Nara (as cited in Nehru,1989) says “foreign policies depend ultimately on internal conditions and developments. Internal progress for us, therefore becomes essential if we are to play any effective part in world affairs; it is even more essential, of course, for our own well-being” [3]. Nehru describes foreign policy in these words: Foreign policy in the past, I suppose, related chiefly to the relations of a country with its immediate neighbors-whether they are friendly or otherwise. Now, foreign policy is normally something, which develops gradually. Apart from certain theoretical propositions, we may lay down, it is real, has some relation to actuality and not merely to pure theory. Therefore, we cannot precisely lay down our general outlook or general approach but gradually it develops [14]. Bandyopadhyaya (2003) is of the view that “the making of foreign policy is essentially an exercise in the choice of ends and means on the part of a nation-state in an international setting” (p.1).Dixit (2001) has opined that “foreign policy’s external challenge is to deal with the unpredictability of inter-state and inter-societal relations. Prognoses in foreign policy cannot be straitjacketed in a priori generalizations”[14]. Thomsett and Freestone (cited in Kennedy, 2008) has stated that “the purpose of foreign policy is not provide an outlet for own sentiments of hope or indignation; it is to shape real events in a real world”. Locke (1955) has described foreign policy in the following words: “The power of war and peace, leagues and alliances and all the transactions with all persons and communities without the commonwealth constituted the federative power, which must necessarily be left to the prudence and wisdom of those whose hands it is into be managed for the public good” [5]. Freeman (cited in Cambon, p. 157) is of the view that “foreign policy is not a matter of sentiment; its object is to shape events in conformity with the laws, which govern national destiny; these laws exist and we cannot alter them. National interests never change; they are determined by nature, geography, and the character of a nation.”To most nations, foreign relations are a nuisance filled with anxieties and frustrations and few visible achievements (Freeman cited in Thompson, 1962, p. 159). Freeman (cited in Norstad, 1963) has said that “foreign policy can be more impressive and no more effective than the force, the power, the strength that supports it” [2]. Dharamdasani (1976) defines foreign policy in the following way:“Since foreign and domestic policies are inseparably interlinked the former is far from being a matter of free choice and is bound to be influenced by a number of internal factors which determine its nature and operation. This process of interaction between the external and internal factors is, in fact, one of the major considerations involved in the formulation of country’s foreign policy” [16]. Freeman (cited in Palmerston,1843, p. 152) has opined that “a wise government in its home policy considers the reasonable wants of the people; in its foreign policy, it is prepared to resist the unjust demands and the unreasonable views of foreign powers.”There is a vital difference between foreign policy and diplomacy. Foreign policy is the strategy of diplomacy (Freeman cited in Regala,1959, p.152).Rodee (1967) is of the view that “foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles, which shape the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests.”Jones (1981) says that “foreign policy deals with aggregates and it seemed to penetrate all that is fundamental continued human existence and to further human welfare” [16]. Muni (1971) describes foreign policy in the following words: Like and individual’s social behavior, the international behavior of a nation-state is the interaction between its organization and the society around. The theoretical layout with which this interaction operates, constitutes the basic framework of the foreign policy of that country. This basic

framework is motivated by the needs and aspirations of the state that are further conditioned in expression by the domestic milieu and external setting. Bindra (1988) states, “The foreign policy of a country is usually determined by a general assessment of a state’s economic, military and international positions; an appraisal of the capabilities in advising self-reliance, caution, isolation, military potential and alignments; broad principles of conduct; national interest and the strategies, commitments etc. undertaken to achieve a given object” [1]. Freeman (cited in Kertesz, 1959) is of the view that the “success or failure of foreign policy is greatly influenced by the skill of negotiators, whose behavior can be more important for the course of history than is generally recognized. The skill of a negotiator, however, is determined not only by personal ability, but, more importantly, by the total political context, domestic and foreign, within which he operates” [13]. Hobbes (chapter 30) writes, “the right of making war and peace with other nations and commonwealth, that is to say, of judging, when it is for the public good, and how great forces are to be assembled, and aid for that end.” Khanna (2001) is of the view that “foreign policy is formulated by every state so as to serve its national interests. The governments of states have to decide on a certain course of action and refrain from certain others”. Bandyopadhyaya (cited in Wilson, 2003) has said that “the attempt to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of material interest is not only unfair to those with whom you are dealing, but it is degrading as regards your own actions” [11]. Several Nepalese scholars, politicians and foreign policy experts have also defined and described foreign policy. According to Agrawal et. all (cited in Malla, 1985), “a foreign policy strategy is primarily adjudged for its performance by its ability to fulfill the objectives it pursues” [13]. Pradhan (1996) defines foreign policy as “a yardstick through which one can measure the nature and character of a nation determining its relations with the foreign countries” [2]. Koirala (1993) is of the view that “foreign policy for us is, therefore, a natural extension of the national policy abroad. In other words, the premises of our domestic policies have set the guidelines for our foreign policy.” Sharma (2000) opines, “Foreign policy assumes a different form, when it consolidates political and military power to merge economics, geographical areas and national policies of different states into one” [9]. Shrestha (1998) has said that “in a world changing rapidly under the impact of rapid improvements in science, technology and communication, and becoming more and more interdependent, the direction of a nation’s foreign policy can be understood through its policy and behavior in the neighborhood and at the sub-regional, regional as well as the international level.” [8] Singh (cited in Agrawal, 1985) has described, “Geo-political realities and economic considerations must always dictate the foreign policies of small nations” [3]. Khanal (1999) defines foreign policy as “an area of state affairs where no sudden change is expected, because choices before its makers are relatively few and its execution is aimed at bringing about change in the behavior of actors beyond the national boundary.” Bhattarai (1983) is of the view that “the foreign policy of a nation-state is a reflection of its historical experiences and national aspirations, and the vision it holds of the world” [11]. According to Baral (cited in Agrawal et. all, 1985), “foreign policy making process is never determined by a single factor because it is the result of the interplay of a large number of factors that get primacy in accordance with time and circumstances” [14]. Madan Kumar Bhattarai is of the view that “the domain of foreign policy cannot be studied in isolation nor can it be divorced from the basic contours of a country’s domestic policy. A country’s geography, history, political system, culture, economy etc. may act as permanent and semi-permanent factors in influencing the formulation and conduct of foreign policy” [1]. Adhikari (1995) states, “the foreign policy should be conducted to promote the utmost interest of the people and the nation” [2]. Nepal (cited in some selected speeches) is of the view that “the fundamental determinants of foreign policy are national interests and the international environment. Therefore, the formulation and implementation of such a policy has to be consistent with the parameters of these two variables.” Lohani (cited in preface) says, “A foreign policy

that is backed by a strong and broad national consensus has ample chance of winning over friends in the international domain and achieving the desired results".Khadka (1995) describes foreign policy as "a course of action taken by a state in responding to external situations. The course of action is formulated on the basis of a continuous interaction between internal and external environments". Khatri (cited in Pradhan, 1964) says "foreign policy sums up the aims and ideals of a state both on national and international level. The foreign policy of a state, therefore, cannot be a mere carbon copy of another state, if it has to reflect the philosophical principles of a state." Upreti (cited in Agrawal, 1985) states that "national security and national interest are two overriding factors that determine the foreign policy of any country" [16]. Dahal (2002) is of the view that "the process of formulating and organizing a foreign policy of a particular nation-state may vary from country to country, situation to situation and system to system. The process may be more democratic, transparent and people-centered/ people-oriented in the liberal democracies, whereas it be less democratic, less transparent and close in authoritarian and dictatorial systems."Mahat (cited in Nepal's Foreign Policy: Issues and Options) has said that "the objective of any foreign policy is to enhance national prestige and promote national interest including economic interest of the people."Shah (cited in Sharma, 1986) states, "the foreign policy in the contemporary world does not concern itself mainly with regulating relations between different countries, but has also acquired a positive significance in promoting international peace, cooperation and welfare."Silwal (1994) states, "that any country's foreign policy has added new dimensions in the fast changing international scenario is beyond dispute. In the new emerging world order, where the global agenda is one of development, it is logical for every country, big or small, of whatever ideological hue and color to focus on core areas like trade, investment and economic cooperation."Khanal (2000) defines foreign policy as "an intellectual and defense instrument, a means to national security which is the end."Khanal adds, "foreign policy, by definition, is a two-way affair, a matter of give-and-take in a wide sense wider than material."He is of the view that "it is never too trite to repeat that the goal and justification of foreign policy is the safeguarding of national interest [9]." Thus, foreign policy is concerned with both change and status quo in so far as they serve the national interest. On the whole, foreign policy is inevitable for any country of the world to adjust and exchange ideas, goods and services in the international politics relations. Therefore, we can summarize above mentioned definitions in some points.

Foreign policy is:

- *Behavior of a state beyond the nation/state.*
- *Policy of abroad.*
- *External affairs of the state.*
- *Interactions with other world.*
- *Policy of the inter-state relations.*
- *Means of expressing nation's attitudes and functions in international field.*
- *Art of government in international relation [11].*

Nepal is a small landlocked country of South Asia between two giant countries of Asia, the Tibet region of China to the north and India to the east, south and west. Though Nepal is small in size, it is a big in multiple dimensions. It is a state of multi-religious, multi-ethnics, multi-social, economic and geographical condition. Nepal is a nation of diversities. Nepal's foreign policy begins from the time of unification of the nation by Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1768. Since then, foreign policy of the country has passed through different phases. Due to the geographical situation, Nepal should adopt different foreign policy with immediate neighbors, China and India, as Prithvi Narayan Shah stated, "Nepal is a yam between two boulders". This remains as a constant principles of Nepalese foreign

policy had to tackle with the advancement of the interest of the neighboring countries, especially India. Nepal has adopted the special relation with India and sometimes with China, sometimes equidistance and proxy and distance. Whatsoever in the past, at present Nepal has entered into new global outlook and tuning its foreign policy and tuning its foreign policy in realistic terms. National interest, the collective interest of the individuals, is the key concept of foreign policy, which provides the condition of framing foreign policy. And foreign policy is a means of promoting national interest in which every nation's existence, security, and stability is consisted. Goodwill is the base of all bilateral relations. Moist leader Prachanda has referred the Nepal as a dynamic between two great giant India and China. It can be exploded at any time. It means in the sense of security Nepal is a sensitive place for both China and India. Every nation has the course of foreign policy, which expects some predictability so that credibility of a nation could be maintained in the community of nations. Therefore, a country has to comply certain norms with others even if a country's domestic policy does not match. The constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990, has spelled out the course of Nepal's foreign policy [14].

II- Objectives and the goals of Nepal's foreign policy

A state can adopt a foreign policy according to need and importance of fate which is directly related with national interest. National interest may be changed according to national and international situation where changing nature of national interest changes the foreign policy, its objectives and goals too. Every state, in fact, is motivated by its strong desire to have security, stability all-round development, prosperity, power influence and image in the world, and accordingly formulate and execute its foreign policy [13]. Therefore, main objective and goal of Nepalese foreign policy is to attain national interest and its preservation. It means preservation of nation and nationality, economic prosperity and development, and expansion of national dignity throughout the world. So Nepalese foreign policy is guided by national interest of Nepal in which national needs, desires, ambitions and expectations are always reflecting. As directed by the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990, the objectives of Nepalese foreign policy is to enhance the Nepal's dignity in international arena and to maintain the Nepal's sovereignty, integrity and independence (Article 25(5)) [9]. Like the constitution has to spelt out the guiding principles of Nepal's foreign policy. They are (1) *United Nation Charter* (2) *Non-alignment* (3) *Panchasheel* (a) *mutual respect to each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty* (b) *Non-aggression and mutual cooperation* (c) *Non-interference in each other internal affairs* (d) *equality and mutual benefits* and (e) *norms of international law* (Article 26(15)) [8]. Besides this, Nepalese foreign policy is concerned with the world peace, human rights, and strengthening democracy in the age of democratic world. To enhance the Nepal's dignity in international scenario is a prime objective of Nepalese foreign policy. Nepal's role to make "friendship with all nations and enmity with non" is very much significance in her foreign policy. Nepal has declared herself as a "Zone of Peace". Nepal faiths on UN charter, its specialized agencies, international and regional organizations. She strongly faiths on world peace and complete disarmament and provoke brotherhood and friendship among nations [1]. Nepal's leadership role of poor, least developed and landlocked countries, opposition on discrimination, terrorist activities and violence; value free judgement and to respect five principles "panchasheel" are enhancing the dignity of Nepal. To maintain Nepal's sovereignty, integrity and independence is an objective of Nepalese foreign policy. Nepal is internally sovereign and externally independent nation [3]. Nepal is a multi-religious, multi-social, multi-ethnic society. Integrity of diversities strengthens the Nepal's international status and identity. It is the spirit of the 1990 constitution. Article 25(5) of the directive principles and policies of the state. To preserve and promote the national interest is core value of foreign policy. Foreign policy is based on national interest and national interest is fulfilled through the foreign policy. National interest consists of wellbeing of one's own people of a nation and nationality [2]. According to Robinson (1967) there are different

types of national interests such as primary, secondary, permanent, general, specific, variable, identical, complementary and conflicting, etc. So far the Nepalese primary-interest is concerned with the main problem of Nepali people which are food, home and curtain. It is the responsibility of the government to provide for all people along with the security and freedom [5]. To uplift the national well-being is another part of the Nepalese foreign policy. Nepal's poor psychology becomes the obstacle of all-around development. Nepal's poor economic conditions, social and political backwardness, no infrastructure of development, limit access to communication technology are challenges of Nepal [5]. Therefore, main objectives of Nepalese foreign policy is to uplift the national and wellbeing by economic stability and sustainable development through pursuing foreign donor countries and agencies. And, Nepal wants to establish friendly relations with the other countries of the world [4]. To promote and develop Nepal as an attractive tourist destination. Nepalese foreign policy enhances the dignity of a nation in the international field providing standard services and security to the tourist [5]. Other significant objectives of Nepalese foreign policy is to provide the national security and territorial integrity [5]. Nepal lies between two giant nations India and China which possesses the nuclear weapons that creates fear for Nepalese psychology. Border relation between Nepal and India is always a confronting issue. India, time and again, has been interfering the Nepalese territory in different places. Similarly, border relation with China is also considerable issue. Therefore, national security and territorial integrity is prime objective of Nepalese foreign policy [6].

III- Some Instruments of Nepal's Foreign Policy

The instruments of foreign policy may be said that these institutions or devices throughout which the national power or resources are used for the accomplishments of the interests and objectives. There are various instruments of foreign policy that a state adopts according to the power and status. Nepalese foreign policy is implemented according to constitutional provision of chapter four "Directive Principles and Policies of the State". Article 26 (15) and (16) of the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 which mentions that "The foreign policy of Nepal shall be guided by the UN charter, non-alignment, the principle of panchasheel international law and faith on world" [9]. "The state shall adopt a policy of making continuous effort to institutionalize peace in Nepal through international recognition by promoting cooperative and cordial relations in the social, economic and all other spheres on the basis of equality with the friendly neighbors and all other countries of the world". So far as the foreign policy instrument of Nepal is concerned, it is very limited due to its power and politics. Propaganda, war, political warfare, economy, colonialism and imperialism cannot become the instruments of foreign policy of Nepal. Some acceptable and possible instruments are described here [7].

➤ *Collective Security*

The principle of collective security is adopted to secure collective defense of mobilization of powerful nation/nations. Balance of power and collective security is extremely useful instrument for smaller nations like Nepal, which has limited capacity to defend them. Nepal always stressed on the regional security treaty [8].

➤ *Peace*

Peace is ultimate answer of foreign policy objective of any country. Nepal is a peace loving country of the world. Nepal's effective participation on UN peacekeeping force through the world has been playing a great role to introduce Nepal internationally as a peace passionate [8]. Nepal declared herself "Zone of Peace" and this peace zone proposal accepted by many countries of the world. Nepal wants to settle all disputes through peaceful method and dialogue. Nepal strongly supports the complete disarmament throughout the world [8].

➤ ***Utilization of World organization***

No country can dare to violate the rules and conventions that are internationally recognized. Every nation follows the laws to make easy environment to conduct foreign policy. Nepal is a member state of UN and other international or regional organizations like – WHO, SAARC, BIMSTEC, etc [17]. to implement foreign policy. Therefore, if difficulties are created by any powers blocks of external element Nepal always requests to the world community for the resolution of the problem [10].

➤ ***Economic and non-political method***

Various economic methods are also adopted by various nations to achieve their foreign policy objectives and to harm the interest of the opponents. Nepal has been advocating the new international economic order and accepts all foreign aid without any political string attached to it. Along with it, Nepal wants to establish cultural, educational, science and technological relations with other nations of the world [16].

➤ ***Diplomacy***

Art of diplomacy can put country's viewpoint effectively before the world and fulfill foreign policy objectives by means of mutual negotiations. Diplomacy is the worldwide acceptable instrument for peaceful settlement of all disputes. Diplomacy is, in fact, "the management of international relation by means of negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassador, envoys; and business or art of diplomats" (Nicolson, 1939). Thus, diplomacy reduces the area of disagreements and misunderstanding with other states. It is instrumental in reaching out agreements, treaties and pacts with other nations. Diplomacy is reliable and strong weapon /means of weaker and landlocked countries like Nepal. It plays great role in both during war and peace. Nepal's diplomatic relation with 144 countries of the world helps to make world opinion in any issue directly related to Nepal [11]. On the whole, some instruments of Nepalese foreign policy are:

- *Treaty and agreements.*
- *Regional security treaty and dialogue,*
- *Economic forum and acceptance of foreign aid,*
- *Recognition of new government and new country [15],*
- *Utilization of world organizations (UN, IMF, World Bank, SAARC and other parties),*
- *Cultural, educational and science and technological relation and*
- *Bilateral, multilateral diplomatic relations etc [11].*

IV- Characteristics of Nepalese Foreign Policy

➤ ***Respect to the United Nations Charter***

Nepal got UN membership on December 14, 1955 with great efforts. Since then Nepal strongly faiths on UN, respects the UN charter and its specialized agencies. Nepal is raising voice from the beginning to strengthen United Nations as an effective organization of the world. Nepalese foreign policy is guided by the UN charter as stated on "Directive Principles and Policies of the State" [3]. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 article 26 (15) mentions that "The foreign policy of Nepal shall be guided by the UN charter, non-alignment, the principles of panchasheel, international laws and faith in the world peace" [14].

➤ ***Respect to the five principles of panchasheel:***

The principles of panchasheel have become the touchstone of the good international politics that create the brotherhood and friendly relationship between or among the nations of the world. Nepal has adhered to the five principles of panchasheel according to the constitutional provision of article 26 (15).

These are; (1) non-interference, (2) non-aggression, (3) respect for each other territorial integrity, sovereignty and freedom, (4) equality and mutual interest/welfare and, (5) peaceful coexistence [12].

➤ ***Faith on the world peace, non-alignment policy and respect to the international laws:***

Nepal's foreign policy is guided by chapter four, article 26 (15) of the 1990 constitution. Due to the Nepal's geo-political position and geo-strategic importance she has to adopt the policy of disarmament and raise strong voices on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons for the world peace. Nepal is treated as a buffer state by two large countries namely India and China having opposite ideologies. After the end of cold war Nepal's chicken-hearted policy is non-alignment. Whatsoever, the policy was relevant and important in regard to time and situation. Similarly, Nepal respects the international laws, conventions, pacts and declarations [13].

➤ ***d. Institutionalization of Peace in Nepal***

Nepal's recognition to the world community as a peace loving country is a major output of the foreign policy of the country. Nepal's declaration herself as a "Zone of Peace" received support from nations around the world. To institutionalize peace in Nepal through international recognition is clearly stated in constitution. Article 26 (16) of the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 mention that "The state shall adopt a policy of making continuous efforts to institutionalize peace in Nepal through international recognition by promoting cooperative and cordial relations in social, economic and other spheres on the basis of equality with friendly neighbors and all other countries of the world" [13]. In this way, Nepal clearly accepts to institutionalize peace in Nepal as an important character of the foreign policy of Nepal [14].

➤ ***Theory of equi-proximity:***

Nepal's relation with immediate neighbors is based on brotherhood. Nepal, as a weaker and underdeveloped small country with comparison of India and China, wants to establish equal relationship with neighboring countries. The terminologies "equidistance" and "equi-balance" that are used in the relations with India and China has become impractical, impossible and non-objective. It is because poor and powerless Nepal cannot neglect them or keep far distant. Therefore, theory of equi-proximity is relevant and practical weapon on the relationship with immediate neighbors [7]. Advocacy of the interest of the landlocked, least developed countries and in against of interference of powerful countries: Nepal is a small, landlocked and least developed country of the world. It is also widely recognized that Nepal advocates of the small, landlocked and least developed countries. Nepal has got support by countries throughout the world on the independent foreign policy of Nepal. Similarly, Nepal always raises strong voice against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism policy and diplomacy of any country of the world [7].

➤ ***Emphasized on new international economic order:***

Nepal gives emphasis on new international economic order, which is accepted by UN General Assembly. And, Nepal emphasize on the help from the developed countries to the third world countries [5]. Nepal raises the question of environmental and ecological misbalance on the small countries from the chemical production of developed countries of the world. Nepal accepts the international aid without any political string attached to it. Therefore, Nepal wants to establish friendly relation with all countries either small or large for financial support and development of Nepal [11].

➤ ***Emphasis on regionalism:***

Nepal is an active member of SAARC, faiths on principles, objectives and goals of SAARC. Nepal wants SAARC to be effective and real regional organization of Asia. Nepal fully believes that SAARC helps to fulfill various needs of all countries of South Asia on the basis of regional integration and mutual cooperation in different sectors [18]. Nepal has also entered in BEMSTEC for the regional development on economic and technological fields. So it seems that Nepal gives emphasis on regionalism and regional integration. SAPTA for regional trading is also mentionable [18].

➤ ***Independent personality in the world community***

Nepal is an independent country with independent relation with 114 countries of the world. Interdependency is the nature of international relation where independence is required to be a sovereign state. Though, Nepalese foreign policy is being influenced from the external powers-powerful country, NGO/INGOs, donor countries and agencies etc., maintaining independent personality in the world. Nepal strongly faiths on UN charter, non-alignment and panchasheel. And puts own view on any international issues impartially and confidently so that is acceptable to all nations [14].

IV- Determinants of Nepalese Foreign Policies

Due to the Nepal's geographical location, size (human and non-human resources), history, economic status and political system as an internal factors and UN member, respect for the UN charter, active member of NAAM, faith in international law and world peace, disarmament as an external factor that determine the Nepalese foreign policy. So Nepal should adopt different foreign policy with respect to time and situation. Nepal has traditionally based foreign policy on the Panchasheel, the principles of equi-distance between India and China. the UN charter, and non-alignment [11]. All patriotic elements should be seriously considered for a small nation such as Nepal, which is situated between two big neighbors, following different principles, which have always been independent and self-respecting to get enmeshed, from the dangerous gamers of imperialistic power [16].

➤ ***Geography***

Geography is one of the potent factors influencing the formulation of foreign policy. Geography includes location, size, topography, state borders, etc. Political study without geographical knowledge is incomplete because politics and geography are directly interrelated subjects. Geopolitics and political geography are frequently used terminologies due to their significance of each in political system [17]. Nepal as a Himalayan country, lies between large countries of Asia. Nepal has boarder with China to its north, and India to its south, east and west. Nepal's border with China is demarcated by natural boundary of high Himalayan range known as the natural barrier that protects Nepal from the Chinese military force and socio cultural influence. It is also unfortunate due to geographical difficulties; Nepal less interacts with China [18]. Similarly, Nepal's open boarder with India is a factor of free flow of people, culture, and economy along with positive and negative activities that directly influence Nepalese foreign policy. Size and population is another factor that plays a great role in international relation and foreign policy of a country. Nepal is located between two giant countries of Asia – India and China which are known as nuclear power and emerging super power of the world. Nepal is second richest country in water resources of the world [1]. Nepal is second richest country in water resources of the world but it has no access to sea. Though, Nepal has sufficient natural resources, mineral resources and herbal plants, etc. these are not utilized properly due to geographical difficulties. Nowadays, this is conjoined with geo-political strategy as Nepalese politician frequently refers to Nepal's landlocked position between two giant countries. As a result, Nepal cannot ignore this fact while making its foreign policy. Nepal's geographical position always makes it imperative for the country to nurture and sustain a good neighborhood policy. Nepal entailed an independent and

mutually benefitted foreign policy towards its immediate neighbors. Nepal compiled to follow the natural foreign policy [15].

➤ *History*

History is another determinant, which guides foreign policy of a country. From history alone the nation inherits a style and culture that in turn influences the foreign policy making from the past experience, failure and success. History shapes the current tradition and the self – image of a society and therefore the specific national style [14]. The foreign policy is also subject to change according to the history of a state. Nepal's foreign policy, like other countries of the world, is determined, guided, and controlled by its historical factors and historical experience. It has a history of being independent and sovereign state for centuries even in the rising British Empire in which sun never sets. Nepalese people feel proud of not being ruled by external power throughout the history [2]. This feeling of invincibility and a sense of brevity have emboldened Nepal's foreign policy projection towards the world. Sometimes, the relation between Nepal – India, and Nepal – China are named special. Therefore, Nepal has sought for equal, independent and mutually beneficial relations with all nations. The feeling of strengthened nationality could be an additional determiner to form an effective foreign policy [2].

➤ *Population*

Population as a determinant of foreign policy is relevant both in qualitative and quantitative terms. The political, economic and military phase of a nation's foreign policy is also molded by size, character and distribution of its population. It is believed that the greater number of population the greater – will be its power. Besides the quantity, the quality of population as prevailed in its educational level, skilled labor, technical know – how, health and strong national character, is a determinant of foreign policy. Population of Nepal is small, weaker and less qualitative [7]. But, the condition is improving gradually and the population is becoming aware on politics, human rights and freedom. Civil society is its example after the restoration of democracy in Nepal that possess the capacity of influencing the decision of governments of Nepal [1].

➤ *Socio – cultural Factors*

The Nepalese society with its inherent features of the “four colors and thirty – six castes” gives a multifaceted and colorful identity to the world. Religion, language and culture are other factors, which influence on shaping the foreign policy of a country. Nepal is a union of diversities. Cultures, values and traditions of the people of Nepal residing in the southern part of the country are akin to that of the people of India living in the regions adjacent to the Nepalese boarder [7]. These across – the – border relations have been strengthened not only on the basis of religion, tradition, culture and language but also through the matrimonial ties. It is desired that the good relations Nepal has been enjoying with all its friendly countries on ground of religious and socio – cultural affinities as well as the basis of the sound people – to – people relations be continuously promoted and greater friendship and cooperation be forged with the friendly countries for the effective projection of Nepal's foreign policy [1].

➤ *Economic Condition*

This is the age of mutual interdependence of the economic prosperity. Therefore, no country in the world can boast of economic self – sufficiency. Economic interdependency leads to international economic activity that is expressed in terms of tariffs, import quota, trade agreement and other financial agreements. International economic activity also needs facilities and protection of foreign policies in a way that it may have favorable balance in international relations/politics [5]. If a state were financially

strong it would avoid the foreign aid policy from its priority sector. But Nepal's economic base is fragile due to geographical, financial and resource constraints [1]. Nepal's image must be transformed from the aid recipient country to the investment friendly state. Nepal needs to improve its economy through internal resource mobilization, developmental oriented work – culture, industrial development, income generation, saving and investment. Enhancement of economic strength is the prime factor for developing Nepal's foreign policy to meet the goals and national dignity [7].

➤ ***Political System***

Political system of a country is a major internal determining factor of foreign policy of a country. Political system, political ideology, political leader and people's participation in politics are prime factors that create political stability or instability. Political stability creates the environment for effective projection of a country's foreign policy. During the cold war period whole world was divided into two blocks capitalist and communist [1]. There is third block of the world known as the non-aligned, which represents the countries of least developed, landlocked and weaker. Nepal is member country of non-alignment movement, she respects the five principles "panchasheel", UN Charter; international law, etc. Nepal lies between two large country India and China having the opposite political system. Different political system in different period has adopted different foreign policies differently [14]. Nepalese foreign policy coupled with the support of the international community for the democratic system of governance, human rights, freedom and rule of law. Nepalese foreign policy effected by the domestic political instability and differing foreign policy effected by the domestic political instability and differing foreign policy approaches of political parties. More importantly, there should be national consensus among political parties to shape a coherent and uniform foreign policy [12].

➤ ***Decision – Makers***

Every nation has its own mechanism to conduct foreign affairs. Government, foreign ministry, foreign minister and bureaucracy are mainly responsible in policy formulation and implementation regarding to the foreign affairs. Leader mainly determines the strengthen and direction of a foreign policy. The role that a country performs at a particular time, and the foreign policy that will be perused are outcome of the decisions that is taken by individual or organizations [7].

➤ ***National Power***

It is a permanent internal determinant factor of foreign policy of a country. Power means the dominant capacity to others by using the economy, military, and other cohesive power. Nepal is a small and landlocked country of the world. She has no military capacity, economic development, technological advancement and modern means of communication. It is accepted that enlightened political institution are also associated with the national capacity [6]. Usually, a developed nation tends to follow an independent foreign policy whereas a backyard nation is included to pursue a dependent policy. Therefore, Nepal as an under developed country faces such difficulties in real sense. Though, Nepal is a small and poorest country, has sufficient natural resources like minerals, metals, coal and water resources that constitute an important element of national power and consequently of foreign policy. Nepal's available natural resources are not utilized properly due to the lack of skilled manpower and technology [2].

➤ ***Public Opinion***

Public opinion is unavoidable factor that no country can go against the pressure of the pressure of the public opinion for a longtime in order to develop the foreign policy. Especially in democratic countries public opinion cannot be ignored, as it is one of the determinants of foreign policy. It is often vague, volatile, amendable to quick changes and difficult to mobilize on a particular problem. So public opinion is mobilized and expressed in clear terms. It becomes difficult for the government to overlook it while taking decision on the issue in question [11]. In the history of Nepalese foreign policy, there is no vibrant civil society and people did not articulate clearly their voices. After the restoration of democracy, people were longing for wider relation but their voices were suppressed. It is natural law to respect the public opinion because the government represents people by their votes or mandates [13].

➤ ***International Organization***

It is important external factor of foreign policy of a country. A nation cannot ignore international law, treaties, and contents that their violation may not create danger in politics. Almost all countries are also members of the UNO, and its decisions and all activities affect the foreign policy of many nations. These include international law, the UNO and its activities, UNESCO, ILO, WHO, IMF, WTO, and regional organization. Nepal became a member of UNO in 1995, and she always respects the UN charter, UN specialized agencies, treaties and conventions strongly. Nepal is an active member country of non-alignment movement from the beginning. Nepalese foreign policy has been guided throughout its history by the principle of non-alignment. The first aspect is that Nepal has maintained non-aligned posture towards its neighboring countries China and India. Secondly, it has remained non-aligned to any of the power blocks existing in the world political scenario. Therefore, non-alignment policy of Nepalese foreign policy is relevant and significant till today [9]. Nepalese foreign policy has been guided throughout its history by the principle of non-alignment. Nepal, as a member of NAM, has been calling in various multilateral forums, for the right and interest of the developing countries. The first aspect is that Nepal has maintained non-aligned posture towards its neighboring countries China and India because Nepal is surrounded by two great nuclear power and different political system of Asia [6]. Secondly, it has remained non-aligned to any of the power blocks existing in the world political scenario. So, non-alignment policy of Nepalese foreign policy is relevant and significant till today. Similarly, Nepal is an active member of SAARC, BIMSTEC and faiths on the principles of these regional integration [4].

➤ ***World Peace***

One of the strong external determinants of Nepalese foreign policy is peace and disarmament around the world. As small country having frontiers with two nuclear powers, Nepal has been consistently calling for worldwide disarmament for the sake of peace. Distribution of peace in the region or in any part of the world by arms race or wars affects Nepal's interest in that the rights of small and strategically weaker nations to preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity could be jeopardized by them [1]. Nepal's deep concerns over nuclear race in its neighboring countries – China, India along with Pakistan – are overtly enunciated at times. Nepal harbors and antipathy to arms build-up in any part of the world, including its surroundings. It always condemns wars and warlike developments. Nepal's foreign policy is also a subject to be influenced by the UN charter. Nepal is an active member of UN and it has a great faith in world peace. Nepal's strong determinant on world peace and disarmament has been playing great role on world peace and security, declaring herself "Zone of Peace" [7]. Turning Nepal into an international peace center in a wider framework of world peace should remain Nepal's top foreign policy agenda.

➤ **International Terrorism**

By the attack of September 11 in America the international terrorism was flourished. Hijacking of Aero plane and various terrorist activities were held in the world politics. Nepal always on the oppose of terrorism. To eradicate and control the terrorism, Nepal can forward its hand with other countries [7].

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